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Fig. 16. A man, in front of his hut. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 17. A man, with frontlet of birdskin. Choroti. Tatarenda camp. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 24. A boy and a girl (age probably about 10). The boy is wearing a frontlet and armlets, made from palm leaves. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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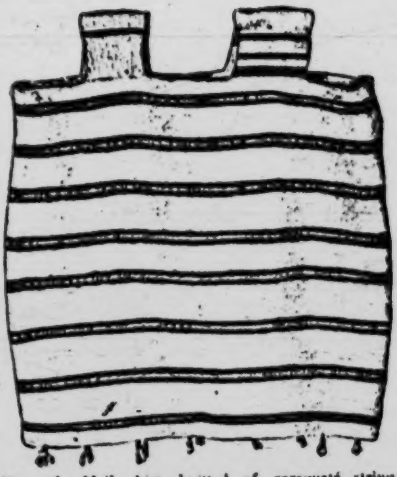

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Fig. 36. Mail shirt, knitted of caraguatá string. Worn principally as a protection against arrows. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 382.

It is worthy of note that the Choroti also manufacture another protective garment out of caraguatá, namely a sort of stockings. This footgear is put on for wading (in fishing), as a protection against the teeth of the terribly sharp-biting palometa fish.[1]

To protect the legs from spiny plants, I have seen Choroti using a kind of long deerskin leggings, laced on with leather straps. The legging here reproduced in fig. 38, which has a height of 71 cm, reached well above the knee of its wearer. Some of the Choroti make use of sandals,[2] but I have myself never seen them worn by these Indians.

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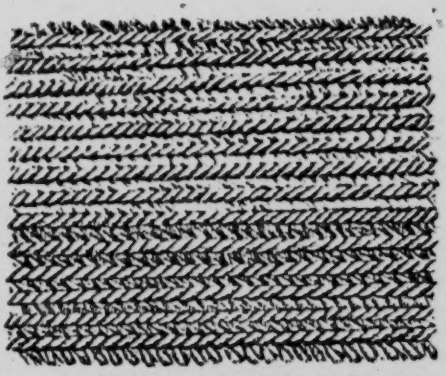

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Fig. 37. Enlarged detail of mail shirt, fig. 36. Natural size.

The men generally wear their hair of a medium length i. e., down to the shoulders, or the shoulder blades (figs. 16—18, 39 and 83) — but I have also seen Choroti with hair so long as almost to reach the waist. The hair is usually tied round with a woollen frontlet (fig. 39), or a frontlet of palm leaves (fig. 24), or birdskin (fig. 17), but it may also be worn loosely hanging down (fig. 53). Frequently the hair is tied into a brush-like bunch at the nape of the neck (fig. 39). Woollen frontlets are generally furnished with simple, tasteful, ornamentation (figs. 39

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 119.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 113, 114.

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and 40). Miss Agnes Branting, who has kindly examined the textiles here reproduced, found the frontlet in fig. 40 especially interesting, as similar fillets are woven by the peasantry in very many provinces of Sweden, for instance Scania, Halland, Wermland and Helsingland. Miss Branting writes on this matter as follows: »Fillets of this kind are made without any other implement than just any sort of object to which the yarn can be attached, say a weighted pincushion held on the knee. The weaving is begun from the centre of the fillet by crossing one yarn over another; for each turn a yarn is added (from a number fastened with pins) on either side. When the edge yarn has been reached, this is turned inwards, and the plaiting then proceeds from the edges towards the centre. This gives a certain firmness and compactness to the edges, and makes the middle portion slightly thinner, as may be noticed if looked at against the light.»[1]

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Fig. 38. Legging, of deer-skin with yellowish-brown hair-covering remaining. Worn for protection against thorny plants. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 383.

Sometimes the frontlets are decorated with snail-shell spangles, sewn on, although such pieces of magnificence as the frontlet here shown in fig. 41 are very rare. From fig. 42 can be seen the way this frontlet is meant to be worn. These very decorative snail shell spangles are made from the shells of a large, white land snail (Borus oblongus, fig. 43), common in the Chaco. The Choroti do not themselves make these snail-shell spangles, but obtain them through barter from other tribes.

Narrow frontlets of woollen-yarn (see fig. 30: the 3rd and 4th men from the left) or birdskin (see figs. 17 and 30: the boy who is fifth from the left) are of very common occurrence; less frequently seen are frontlets made from palm leaves, some of which are provided with chin-straps, so as not to slip easily off the head (fig. 44).

At dances and other festive occasions, the men are fond of wearing particularly handsome, broad frontlets or head ornaments of stiff or downy

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[1] Compare with this a method of hand weaving described from the Choroti by Erland Nordenskiöld. Nordenskiöld (13), p. 111.

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292 feathers, tied inside a woven or plaited fillet, usually no more than a
● 302 centimetre wide, of coarse caraguatá, or woollen-yarn (fig. 45).

And it is also principally at dances that the men of the Choroti wear a sort of knitted skullcaps of woollen-yarn, net-like, and with a chin strap.

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Fig. 39. A man with a woven frontlet of wool (greyish-white and brownish-black), and ear-lobe discs of wood. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[531] These hair-nets are often studded with snail-shell spangles (fig. 46), or the chin straps decorated with down (fig. 47). With the magic character of these and other ornaments from the Chorotis, I shall deal in a later chapter.

[should be Choroti — analyst]

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To the frontlets are affixed one or more feathers (figs. 32, 16—18, 24, 30 and others). These are obtained from many different birds, ranging from ostrich and white heron to domestic fowls. The feathers are often nicked,

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Fig. 40. Frontlet, of wool, with angular ornament in brownish-black and greyish-white. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 9.

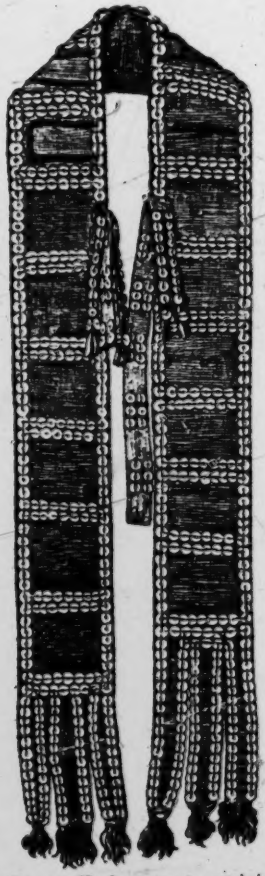

Fig. 41. Head ornament, consisting of a red, woollen, frontlet, 7 cm wide, with snail-shell spangles sewn on, and, in front, beset with turquoise-blue glass beads. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 10. 3. 134.

[531]

Fig. 42. A Lengua Indian with head ornament, »scalp lock» and whistle (the latter hanging round the neck on a string). From Hawtrey.[1]

[825]

Fig. 43. Borus oblongus, a white land snail, common in the Chaco. From its shell the Indians make small spangles, with which they adorn themselves. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 47.

[1] Hawtrey (1), p. 282, fig. 2.

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237 and tied with woollen-yarn on to a small stick or cane splinter (fig. 48),
292 for sticking into the fillet of the frontlet. The Indians take very great
302 care of their feather ornaments, and the easily damaged ostrich plumes
[415] (see front-page plate and fig. 49) are kept encased in bamboo. The plume-case reproduced in fig. 50 consists of a piece of bamboo, 50 cm long and 2.5 cm wide. At the upper joint there is a hole, 3.2 cm long and 1.2 cm wide, through which the partition wall has been removed. The bamboo chip cut out in making the hole near the bottom end, is tied over the hole with a thin strip of bast; whereas the upper hole is without such a lid. The lower hole differs from the upper, in that its edges, as well as the edges of the lid, are painted red. I presume that neither of these holes has been made exclusively for the purpose of facilitating the removal of the wall within the joints, but that they have also served to make easier the taking out of the feathers from the case. The painting red of the holes and lid edges has, as I shall show further on, probably been done with magic intent, for the safeguarding of the plumes.

Fig. 44. Frontlet of palm leaf, with chin strap. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 14.

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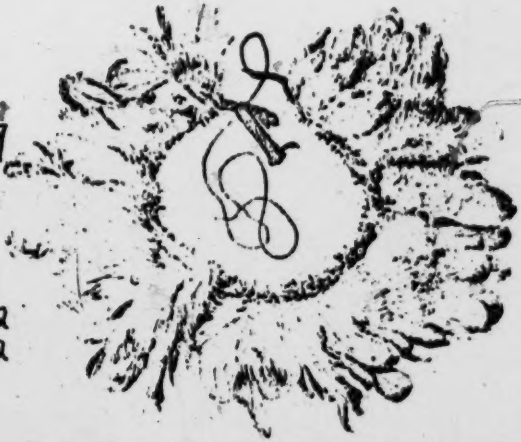

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Fig. 45. »State» frontlet, made of white and pink feathers and down from the pink spoonbill. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 15.

The curious object seen in fig. 51 is, it has been stated, meant to be used as an ornament at dances; it is made out of the leaf of a fan palm (Copernicia australis). It seems to me,

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however, that this object, on account of its weight and shape, would be rather unsuitable for a head ornament. At an attempt at fixing this bunch in a band tied round my forehead, the cluster overbalanced at the very first sharp movement. With some Indians (e. g., the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico) it is the custom at certain dances to hold branches in the hands,[1] and the Mataco, on occasions, dance round two men who are each holding a bunch of sugar cane, resting it on the ground. In this

Fig. 46. Hair-net, with thin strap of red, woollen yarn. The technique in the knitting work resembles what is known as macramé lace. Hair-net as well as thin strap decorated with small shell spangles. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 10. 3. 15.

Fig. 47. Hair-net of red woollen yarn. Knitting technique resembling that of macramé. In the thin strap, which consists of grey woollen yarn, small downy feathers are worked in. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 5.

latter case the dance in performed in order to hasten the ripening of the sugar cane.[2] The fan-palm being of great importance in the food-getting of the Choroti, it is not inconceivable that the palm-leaf bunch here mentioned has been used at some magic dance, held with a view to obtaining an increased supply of palms. That palms are sacred trees, is a universal idea with the Indians,[3] a fact that enhances the possibility of this cluster having had some magical purpose. It may perhaps appear strange that I did not, without further ado, accept the statement of the

[1] Densmore (1), plates facing pp. 117 and 119.
[2] Karsten (1), p. 80.
[3] Karsten (4), p. 136.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

292 cluster being merely a head ornament, but the Chaco Indians often give
302 information that is purposely incorrect, and hence one cannot always rely
[24] upon their explanations.[1] A quaint head ornament, met with among the Choroti, consists of a cross, about 1 dm high, constructed of feathers, thread, and a wooden stick. These crosses, worn stuck into the frontlet, are very similar to a kind of ornaments, probably symbolic or magic, that are occasionally found together with ancient Peruvian mummies.[2]

[237]

Fig. 48. Ornament of white feathers, meant for fixing in a frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 26.

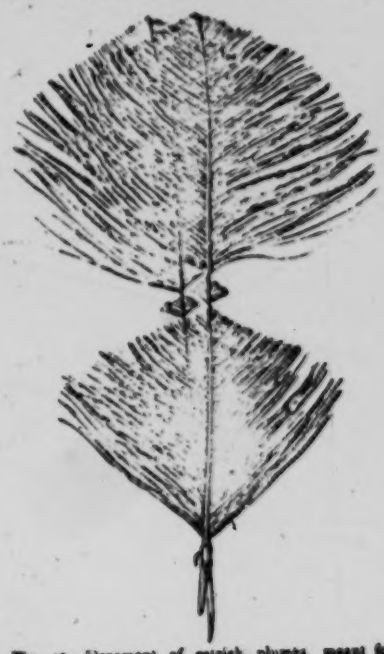

Fig. 49. Ornament of ostrich plumes, meant for fixing in a frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 20.

302 Occasionally the Choroti, and also other Chaco Indians, gather a lock
727 of their front hair into a tuft, tying it round with yarn or narrow woollen tape, so as to make it look like a brush, or broom. Sometimes they make a similar little brush from false hair, and wear it pushed in under the frontlet, over the forehead, so that it points downwards. The false-hair brush here depicted (fig. 52) possessed special value to the Choroti

[1] As to the lying disposition of the Indians of the Chaco, see for example Nordenskiöld (13), p. 34.
[2] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 138—140.

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who was wearing it, for, according to his statement, this ornament originally belonged to an enemy killed by him (Cf. the »scalp lock» on the Indian in fig. 42).

On the Spaniards' first coming to the Inca kingdom, there was, naturally, in that country much that aroused their great astonishment. Among

Fig. 50. Bamboo casing for keeping ostrich feather head ornaments. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 10. 3. 18.

Fig. 51. Palm leaf object, said to be meant for wearing in a frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 99.

other things, the strangers found it especially remarkable that Peruvian men of noble birth were wearing immense, often metal-mounted wooden discs, or hanging ornaments, in their pierced ear-lobes, which were distended to a monstrous size. This custom occasioned the Spaniards to give the Peruvian nobles the nickname of »orejones» — which might be

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translated »big ears» — an appellation subsequently transferred to all such tribes within, or in the neighbourhood of, the Inca kingdom, among whom the wearing of ear-lobe discs was customary.

In our days, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs is met with among a number of tribes distributed over the whole of that part of South America which lies to the north of the tropic of Capricorn.[1] On the Chaco, ear-lobe discs are extensively worn by the Choroti, Lengua[2] and Ashluslay, and are also found among some of the Mataco and Toba Indians.[3] Also in North America the custom of wearing ear-lobe discs, or blocks, appears to be very ancient.[4] The wearing of this kind of ear discs is, however, not limited to America, but is also found, among other places, in Central Africa.[5]

Fig. 52. Brush-like ornament of false hair, for wearing pushed in under the frontlet. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. $^{3}/_{4}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 65.

Among the Choroti, all the men and youths have their ear-lobes pierced, and in the holes they wear discs (see for instance figs. 17, 30, 39, 53). These discs were almost always used for everyday wear, and invariably on state occasions. It very seldom happened that I saw a Choroti man without his ear-discs. Latterly, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs has, in the same way as other old customs once prevalent among the Choroti, become less common, and nowadays it seems that the Choroti, for everyday use at least, often appear without their discs. The piercing of the ear-lobes is performed with a bone awl, or cactus spine, already during boyhood, but I did not see any boys under puberty age wearing discs. Neither is there anything in the literature indicating that Choroti boys put on ear discs before that age.[6]

But, on the other hand, immediately on having had their ear-lobes pierced, the Choroti children take to wearing bits of grass, or very slender

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), map 18.
[2] Koch (1), p. 218, and Hawtrey (1), p. 283.
[3] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 122.
[4] See for instance Moore (2), p. 282.
[5] von Rosen (4), plate 7, fig. A, and von Rosen (7), p. 124.
[6] When it has been stated that the wearing of ear-lobe discs has nothing to do with pubescence [Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68], this is correct only in so far as the ear discs of the Choroti, like the tembeta of the Chiriguano, may, perhaps, first and foremost be attributed with a magical significance, and that their character of being symbols of puberty is only a secondary one. Cf. Karsten (4), p. 155.

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291 The women of the Choroti, especially the younger ones, have very
[77] generally adopted the woman's garment common among the Chiriguano, which is called »tipoy» and consists of a cloak-like covering hanging from the shoulders, where it is secured with cactus spines (fig. 62). The cloth forming the material of these tipoys, is an acquisition by the Choroti from the whites. I saw Choroti girls that had not troubled to sew their tipoys together, but thought it sufficient to pin the edges together with cactus spines down one side. Occasionally the girls wore the tipoy from the hips, as seen in fig. 61. The original garb of the Choroti women consists of a deer skin, or a length of home-woven woollen cloth wrapped round the hips (fig. 21), leaving bare the upper part of the body. Nowadays one only sees elderly women dressed in this way.

301 Contrasted with the men, the women have very few, and very unpretentious, ornaments. The girls wear a necklace or two, made from glass beads or porcelain buttons (fig. 61 and 62), and lizard-skin finger rings. Now and again one may see a woman with armlets, or finger rings, consisting of threaded glass beads, pieces of leather or palm leaf (fig. 62, the girl on the extreme right, and fig. 152).

302 The practice of decorating the face by tattooing and painting is common
304 to both sexes. The men, however, are not always tattooed, which, on the other hand, is the case with the women. Painting of the face, which may safely be assumed to possess magic significance,[1] is performed by men as well as women on all important occasions.

304 Whilst it is the prerogative of the men to adorn themselves with the showier ornaments, it is generally the women who display the more abundant tattooing (cf. figs. 63—66 and 71—76). The tattoo marks that a fully grown Choroti woman wears on her face, have not been worked on her all at the same time, but during different phases of her life as she grows up. According to Nordenskiöld, the Choroti begin tattooing their children already when the latter have reached an age of from 5 to 7 years,[2] and thenceforth various designs are added as the years pass. As a rule, the men are not tattooed, or they may have just a few tattoo marks (fig. 63), and it is exceptional to see Choroti men as profusely tattooed as the men in figs. 64—66.[3] As I have already pointed

[1] Se Chap. XII.

[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

[3] Compare, with this for instance, Lehmann-Nitsche (1), pp. 80 and 81, and Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 69 and 70.

[text continues on p. 75]

Fig. 63. Fig. 64. Fig. 65. Fig. 66.

Figs. 63—66. Tattooing on men. From author's sketches.

Fig. 67. Fig. 68. Fig. 69. Fig. 70.

Figs. 67—70. Face-paintings on unmarried men. Figs. 67 and 68 in red; fig. 69 in black; fig. 70 in black and red (the lines at the root and ridge of the nose are black, the rest are red). Chorote, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. From author's sketches.

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Fig. 71.

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Fig. 72.

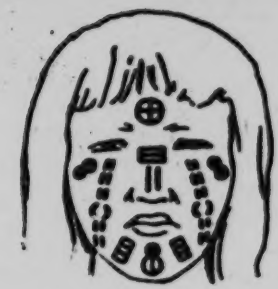

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Fig. 73.

Figs. 71—73. Tattooing on women. Chorotí. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. From author's sketches.

♀

Fig. 74.

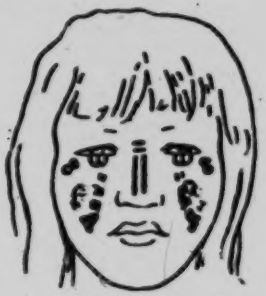

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Fig. 75.

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Fig. 76.

Figs. 74—76. Tattooing and painting on women; in the figures the tattoo marks are shown in black, the painting shaded. The painting was done with red paint. Chorotí. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. From sketches by the author.

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304 pattern with the cactus needles, or bone awl, until beads of blood appear, when the soot-mingled saliva is rubbed into the punctures. After healing, the tattoo marks assume a bluish colour.

302 At dances, lovers' meetings, and other important occasions, men and women paint their faces (figs. 62, 67—70 and 74—76). Face-painting may be done either in red (figs. 67—68 and 74—76) or in black (fig.

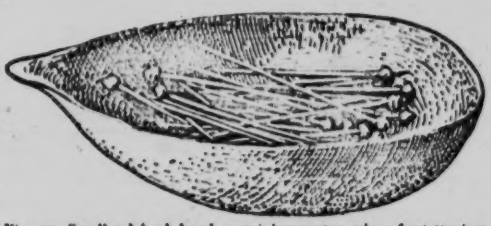

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Fig. 77. Small calabash bowl containing cactus spines for tattooing. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 87.

Fig. 78. Red paint, ready prepared for face-painting. This lump of paint, which is wrapped in a sheath of palm leaf, may possibly have reached the Choroti by barter from the Chiriguano. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 104.

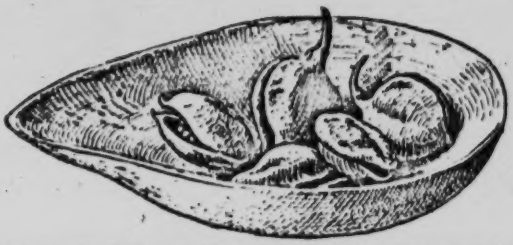

Fig. 79. Small calabash bowl containing fruits of Bixa orellana. From the seeds of these fruits colour is prepared for face-painting. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 103.

Fig. 80. Miniature bowl of wood, holding colour seeds. The bowl and the seeds have possibly been obtained by the Choroti through barter with the Chiriguano. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 180.

69), or in both red and black (fig. 70). Painting the face in red is commonest. The black paint consists of soot and saliva, whilst the red colour (fig. 78) is prepared from seeds of Bixa Orellana (fig. 79). These seeds are usually obtained by barter from the Chiriguano, and are carefully kept by the Choroti in small calabashes. I have also seen miniature wooden bowls (fig. 80) used as receptacles for these colouring seeds after they have been taken out of the follicle.[1] The soot is usually kept in a

[386 439]

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[1] Owing to a mistake having occurred as to the identity of seeds, in my first treatise on the Choroti I have erroneously stated that the red paint used in face-painting is made from the seeds of Caesalpina melanocarpa.

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302 bamboo holder, 10 to 15 cm long, and 1 to 2 cm in diameter. The bottom of this cylinder consists of a joint in the bamboo, and for its mouth there is a stopper of wool, grass, bast or bees-wax.

[291] In painting the face, the paint is put on with small stamps, which either consist of the jaw-bone of a siluroid (figs. 81, 88 b) or of a piece of carved wood (fig. 82). Flat wooden stamps with diamond pattern are also used.[1] Those interesting stamps that are made from jaw-bones of fishes, are undoubtedly the prototype of the wooden stamps.

[531]

Fig. 81. Jaw-bone of a siluroid. The row of teeth is used as a stamp for putting on the paint in face-painting. The fore-end of the bone is sharpened to a point, so that this object can also be used in tattooing and blood-letting. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 100.

[304]

[303 515]

Fig. 82. Paint stamp made of a cane splinter. Is used in the same way as the fish jaw in fig. 81 Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 94.

For cutting off the hair to the desired length (figs. 16—24, 30, 39, 53 and 83), the Choroti use the jaw of the palometa fish, which is set with exceedingly sharp teeth (fig. 84).[2] These are also used as louse-combs, although the Choroti as a rule carry on their louse-hunting only by the means that nature has provided them with. It is possible that once upon a time palometa jaws formed the only combs that the Choroti possessed, but that they afterwards went out of fashion when the more practical wooden or split-cane combs came into use. Of the latter, we may take it that the split-cane combs are the

Fig. 83. A man with hair hanging loose. Choroti. Gran Chaco Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Fig. 84. Jaw of palometa fish (Serrosalmo sp.), used for hair-cutting. Also said to be a louse-comb. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 10. 3. 29.

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), fig. 42.
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 100.

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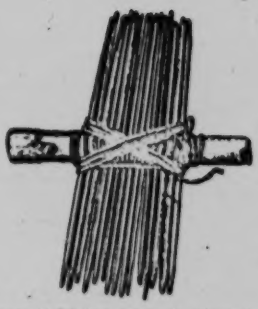

Fig. 85. Split-cane comb. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 3/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 74.

Fig. 86. Wooden comb, carved in one piece. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 3/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 70.

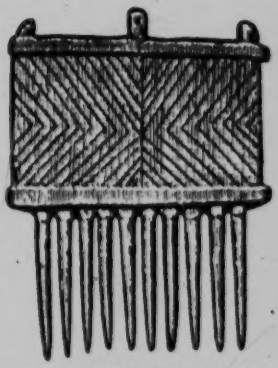

Fig. 87. Wooden comb, carved in one piece; the handle carved on both sides into angular ornament. Choroti. (This comb may possibly have been made among the Churiguano.) Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 3/4. Riksm. 10. 3. 28.

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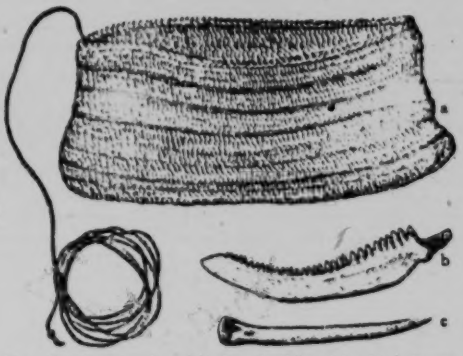

Fig. 88. Miniature bag (a) of undyed (greyish-white), brown, yellow, and black caraguatá fibre. When the author obtained the bag, it contained a stamp for face-painting (b) and a small bone awl for tattooing and blood-letting (c). Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 3/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 101.

older cultural element. The split-cane comb in fig. 85 consists of a piece of cane, about 7.2 cm long, into which a split has been made from one end, so that only 2 cm of the other end of the cane are left intact. The insides of the two legs forming this crotch have been pared down so that the space between the legs of the crotch equals the thickness of the comb teeth at their middle, i. e., in this case about 4 mm. In the fork of this crotch the teeth, 1 to 2 mm thick, have been placed and secured by tying, with their flat sides together. This class of Choroti combs are generally of a construction differing somewhat from the one described, in that the cane has not been split from one of the ends in order to afford room for the teeth, but, instead, there is usually in the middle of it a recess, into which the teeth are fixed in the way I have described.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

Apart from split-cane combs, the Choroti also have wooden combs, 302
carved in one piece (figs. 86 and 87). It is probable that formerly the Choroti did not themselves make as well-made combs as the one reproduced in fig. 87, as, until quite lately, the Chaco peoples have been without good cutting implements of stone or metal. Among the considerably higher cultured Chiriguano, who, for a certainty, have long possessed metal tools, carefully worked wooden combs are very common. It is therefore possible that the neat-looking comb shown in fig. 87 was made among the Chiriguano, although it may subsequently have reached [439]
the Choroti through barter. As I have previously pointed out, there are certain toilet articles, viz., colour seeds and ready-prepared red paint, of which the Chiriguano dispose to the Indians of the Chaco. The Choroti keep their toilet articles, not only in bowls and boxes of calabash, but also in miniature bags of caraguatá (fig. 88).

On account of the dearth of water that periodically recurs on the 515
Chaco, the mere nature of their country makes it impossible for many of the Choroti to observe the same bodily cleanliness as the Chiriguano. But even if the Choroti were well off as regards water supply, I do not believe that they would to any appreciably greater extent indulge in any bathing or washing *intended for the better care of the body*. For, it must be said, the Choroti do not possess anything like the Chiriguano's sense of cleanliness.

Nordenskiöld, who has had opportunities of studying the Choroti Indians on the Pilcomayo, where of course they had plenty of water, writes as regards their lack of cleanliness, inter alia, as follows: »Never did I see an Ashluslay washing his clothes, nor any Choroti, unless they had learnt it from the whites. And to bathe, just for the sake of bathing, is a thing these Indians would only do, I should think, when the weather is really hot. Fishing, however, of necessity takes the men a great deal into the water. The children often play about in the water, too, which makes for keeping them clean. And the 'wee-wee ones' get washed by their mothers when the latter go down to the river.»[1]

»Caring for the body», among the Choroti, is mainly limited to de- 515
corating the face by painting, combing the hair, picking out lice, and 302
pulling out all hairs on the face and about the private parts. Painting,

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 78.

515 Painting,

302 [782] pulling out of hairs, and, in certain cases, the cutting of the hair, are, however, probably to a great extent to be looked upon as acts of magic import.[1]

515 A toilet business that cannot very well be said to be due to any supernatural conception, is, however, lice-picking. Practically all Choroti are infested with lice. When these are getting too troublesome, somebody is called in for assistance (see fig. 89). This is a service willingly rendered by the Choroti, for it is a kind of hunting that they visibly enjoy. To an onlooker it would seem as if the louse hunters also greatly valued [262] the quarry, for as soon as a louse has been caught, it is eaten by the hunter. But nevertheless I think it a mistaken idea that phthiriophagi find the lice nice-flavoured, for head lice are surely too small to have any particular taste, good or bad. Lice-eating probably has probably originated from a desire to render harmless, in the simplest way, such lice as have been caught. These little animals take a good deal of killing, if done with the fingers only, and there is not always a camp fire handy, into which to throw them; for less squeamish individuals, the eating of the catch undeniably proved the most practical way. I think it very probable that lice-eating also among monkeys has its explanation in a wholly conscious effort at annihilating noxious parasites.

[1] Karsten (4), Chap. 1, 3 and 6.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

This Indian practice of setting fire to their enemies' dwellings by shooting arrows has been mentioned as early as the 16th century. Thus Schmidel, for instance, relates how the Indians in the year 1535 set the very town of Buenos Ayres on fire, by their bow-shots, so that the town was burnt to the ground.[1]

For choice, the Indians always try to attack their enemies by surprise. When the Indians on the Pilcomayo (Toba, and probably also Choroti) wished to annihilate Crevaux's expedition, by their at first very peaceable and confidence-inspiring demeanour, they succeeded in so completely duping the members of the expedition that the latter did not take the trouble of always going about armed. Then the Indians concluded that the time was ripe for action, and at a preconcerted sign they fell upon the expedition, only one of whose unsuspecting members managed to escape. According to what an old Mataco chief told me, the explorer, Ibarreta, was also treacherously killed by the Indians. Ibarreta was said to have fallen ill whilst staying among Tapiete Indians in the Pilcomayo swamps in the interior of the Chaco, and to have been killed by those Indians in his sleep.

When the Indians of the Chaco are about to embark upon some warlike enterprise, they first get up a festival of drinking and dancing, at which large quantities of algaroba beer are consumed.[2] They paint their bodies black and red, and adorn themselves with plumes and other ornaments; this is, at least partly, done as a preparation for going to fight not only earthly enemies, but also supernatural powers.[3]

The Choroti take their fallen enemies' scalps, and subsequently, on special occasions, hang up the scalps in their villages;[4] they also highly prize the scalp-locks, resembling brooms or shaving-brushes (see figs. 42 and 52), that they obtain from slain foes.

The Chaco Indians sometimes torture their war prisoners. According to what the Bolivian soldiers at Fort Crevaux told me, the way they used to torture their prisoners was as follows. The prisoner was laid flat on his back on the ground, and his hands and feet tied to pegged-down stakes. Dry sticks were placed in a heap on the stomach of the victim,

[1] Schmidel von Straubing (1), p. 23.
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 122.
[3] Karsten (2), p. 36.
[4] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 121 and 122.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

plaited, red woollen yarn; in the centre of the thick end of the rattle a circular hole has been made, 1.5 cm in diameter. It is through this hole that the above mentioned seeds have been poured into the calabash. The hole has then been stopped up with a plug of some black, waxy substance. The visible part of the plug is decorated with a mother-of-pearl button which originates from the whites. On the calabash there is carved ornamentation. 534

Rattles do not always contain only seeds, for in their interior one may also find other articles, such as bits of tinplate, glass beads and bits of glass (usually worn into a resemblance of pebbles), see fig. 182.[1] The incised ornament on these rattles is probably in every case of magical significance, even when, as on the rattle in fig. 170, it does not form any pictorial representation which is perceivable by the uninitiated. Pictorial representations are, however, fairly common on magic rattles of calabash (see fig. 181). In many rattles, the seeds, bits of metal, etc., have been introduced by way of a hole at the end of the handle, fig. 181, into which a plug of wood has then been inserted. This kind of rattle is as a rule without a hole at the base, or carrying string (see table on page 169).

Nordenskiöld[2] as well as Karsten[3] has given valuable accounts of the dances of the Choroti. At some of these the Indians wear a kind of dancing girdle, hung with animal hoofs or dried fruit shells which beat against each other at the dancer's movements, and in that way make a rattling noise. Karsten has tried to establish that all Choroti dances originally were of magical purport,[4] whilst Nordenskiöld is of opinion that the Choroti also possess purely profane dances, connected with the sexual life of these Indians.[5] Nordenskiöld describes this kind of dance in the following way: »In the larger villages, among the Choroti as well as the Ashluslay, there is dancing every night, nota bene, if the belly is not empty. For the young people these dances are everything; all their interest 535 [534] 535 302

[1] The bits of glass that one finds inside magic rattles are as a rule so much worn and stone-like that it requires a mineralogist to ascertain the fact that they are not products of nature (see fig. 182). The statement that one often finds the magic rattles of the Choroti containing stones (Vide von Rosen (3), p. 13), is erroneous, and due to the illusive resemblance that these worn bits of glass bear to quartz pebbles.

[2] Nordenskiöld (13) and (17).

[3] Karsten (1) and (4).

[4] Karsten (4), p. 26.

[5] Nordenskiöld (17), p. 145.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

535 centres on them. It is for them that they paint and deck themselves out.
302 At these balls the young Indian tries to appear as elegantly apparelled, as originally painted and decorated, as possible. Each day he paints himself after a different fashion, and arranges his ornaments differently. — These gentry, upon growing into older, staid, married men, no longer adorn themselves for ball parties, but only for war. — As to the Choroti girls, I have often seen them anointing their bodies with fish oil, which imparts to them an unpleasant smell. Their own opinion on this point is
[832] no doubt a very different one. To their thinking, we Europeans have an offensive cow smell. The level of elegance affected by the men is never
535 attained by the women. Still, they are, however, able to make the consoling reflection that it is, anyhow, in the first place for their sake that the lords of creation spend several hours of the day on their toilet.

»As has been said, it is in dancing that the whole interest of the young men and the young women centres. When the sun has set, then it begins. In a circle, or in a single rank, the men dance, marking the time by singing, may be: 'Táe-a-sa-lé, táe-a-sa-lé'. As the rhythm of the singing is slow or quick, so is the dancing. Music is a thing unknown at these
[533] dances. The chants that are sung are untranslateable refrains, which often are international, i. e., are used by many different tribes. The girls dance behind the men. Among the Choroti Indians it is the girl who takes the
[832] initiative in the matter of amatory ventures. She simply carries off with her, from the ball, any particular young man whom she may want as her lover for the night. These dances made a grand spectacle, as the moon, or a bonfire of pampas grass, shone on the gleaming bodies, I have seen as many as a hundred men form a dancing circle. At times the dance went quite slowly; at times it would go at a breakneck speed, raising clouds of dust, so that all one could see was a whirling melée of bodies and waving ostrich plumes.«

535 Of the dances of the Chaco Indians,[1] those that are obviously magical
789 are mainly performed as ceremonies of exorcism against dreaded spirits who have it in their power to cause illness or death; according to Karsten, magic dances are also resorted to in order to enhance the supply of wild, edible fruits.[2]

[1] Extract from Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 73, 75—77, and 79.
[2] Karsten (1).
[3] Karsten (1), pp. 25–28.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

776 character.[1] When there has been a death in a village, certain precautionary
[764] measures have to be taken in order that the spirit who caused the death may not in some way or other work further evil.

But also on all other possible occasions the spirits are capable of working harm, indeed, Karsten is of opinion that the Indians, even when doing such commonplace acts as eating and drinking, fear that malicious spirits may surreptiously effect an entrance into them along with the food or drink.[2] That the Indians have this belief is not so very remarkable. Similar conceptions are to be found among many peoples in different continents, and have also been widely spread in Europe. To mention one instance; in olden times on yawning or sneezing there was the custom of making the sign of the cross before the mouth, a custom founded on the fear that the devil or some of his kindred should slip in through the open mouth.

751 As a means of protecting themselves against evil spirits, or for securing, in a magical way, other advantages, the Choroti make use of a variety of devices, the most important of which are the covering of the body, painting of the face, dyeing textiles and other objects red, tattooing, wearing of amulets and certain ornaments, singing, blowing of whistles and shaking rattles, beating of drums, dancing, games of hazard, cutting or pulling out of hairs, and blood-letting.

The custom, previously mentioned, of the girls at their first menstruation keeping their heads covered with a cloth, is an instance of the first-mentioned magical means of protection.

302 At dances and lovers' meetings the Indians paint their faces (see page
751 78), but they adorn themselves by face-painting also on other occasions. As an instance, men as well as women usually had their faces painted when visiting us in our camp. At the time we took this to be a manifestation of Indian vanity, but after having read Karsten's detailed account of the reasons for painting the face among the Indians, I am more inclined to the belief that this painting had been applied as a protection against such unknown spirit forces as might possibly threaten them in the camp of the whites.

831 That painting of the face is done at dances and meetings of a sexual
302 character, is a circumstance connected with the Indian belief that occasions
751

[1] Karsten (1), p. 36, and (4), p. 17.
[2] Karsten (3), p. 205.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

of that kind are especially apt to make it easy for the spirits to acquire possession of human beings. When a woman paints her face, that fact may, therefore, indirectly constitute a sign that she desires sexual intercourse, although the painting may perhaps have been done for the magical reasons above indicated.[1]

On page 58 I have remarked that on a reed-casing for keeping ostrich plumes the holes and the edges of the lids were painted red. This red-painting cannot very well be of a decorative character, seeing that there is not much of the paint visible when the lid is closed. According to my opinion, it is very probable that the paint has been applied in order to protect the delicate ostrich plumes contained in the casing from sustaining harm from evil spirits. The fact is that there is, among the Indians, a wide-spread belief that decay and similar processes are caused by evil spirits, on account of which it has been customary among certain Indian tribes to paint not only corpses but also grave equipment with red paint for the purpose of preservation against decay. And we also possess positive evidence that among certain Indian tribes the custom prevails of providing the property of the living with a similar magically protective, painting.

When through Karsten's paper on Indian conceptions as to the significance of painting,[2] my attention had been drawn to these circumstances, I took to examining most of the objects I had found as grave furniture at Quebrada del Toro and Puna de Jujuy (Argentina) in order to ascertain whether any of these objects had been painted before being put with the dead.[3] This examination revealed that nine wooden objects seemed to be painted all over with red paint, but as I, owing to the objects having lain such a long time in the ground, was unable with certainty to decide whether these objects really were painted, or whether their red colour was due to the natural colour of the wood, I had the objects in question submitted to chemical examination. It was then established that the objects were painted, and that the paint consisted of ferrix oxide, almost pure,[4] (so therefore not uruku, which is prepared from Bixa Orellana).

[1] Cf. Karsten (4), Chap. I.

[2] Karsten (4), Chap. I.

[3] As a result of the fact that all the ethnographical and archæological collections of the Riksmuseum are stored in most unsuitable premises, it has not been possible to find all of the objects.

[4] Analytical report No. 211954, Chemico-Technical Bureau (Kemiska Tekniska Byrån).

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thers, not rarely with snail shell beads. The custom of wearing these *frontlets* undoubtedly derives from the mountain culture.[1]) (Map 21) In the Inca realm the frontlet was a token of honour.[2])

I have seen these frontlets among the (1) Choroti, (6) Mataco, (7) Toba, (3) Tapiete, (2) Ashluslay, (4) Chiriguano and (5) Chané, but among no Indians in N.E. Bolivia. The woven frontlet is, moreover, known from the (17) Abipone[3]) (26) Patagonians[4]) (10) Araucanians[5]) (8) Lengua[6]) (21) Cainguá[7]) and (6 V) Guaná[8]) Numerous frontlets have been found on the coast of Peru (A)[9]).

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Fig. 35. Hairnet. Ashluslay. G. M. (B. 94). 1/6.

The idea underlying the beautiful hair-nets decorated with snail shell beads (Fig. 35) which are sometimes seen among the Choroti and Ashluslay, probably also reached these Indians from the culture zone in the west, where they had hair-nets[10]) as well as the same

[1]) Cobo Vol. 4. p. 162; Uhle (2) p. 30.

[2]) Pelleschi compares the frontlets of the Chaco Indians with those that were used by the Incas. His explanation, however, of the occurrence of this cultural element in the Chaco, is not that the Indians in the Chaco learnt the use of the woven frontlet from the Incas, but runs as follows: »Now this custom must have pre-existed among some at least of the primitive peoples of the Empire, since we find it here in the Chaco, and we attribute to the Incas merely the law as to its use; their system being to regulate every person and everything by laws.« p. 24.

[3]) Dobrizhoffer, Vol. 2. p. 130.

[4]) Outes (3). p. 254; Falkner, p. 111.

[5]) Medina p. 168.

[6]) Grubb, p. 70.

[7]) Outes and Bruch (5) p. 94, fig. 77.

[8]) Cominges, 306.

[9]) Reiss and Stübel, Vol. 3. Pl. 73.

[10]) G. M. (10. 9. 78); Reiss and Stübel, Vol. 3. Pl. 30 fig. 2, 9 and. 10.

[text continues on p. 130]

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technique in knitting as is seen in the hairnets in the Chaco[1]) on the Peruvian coast. The Lengua Indians have very similar hair-nets to those of the Choroti and Ashluslay[2]).

RADIN[3]) mentions hair-nets like caps from the Suyá, Yurúna and Karajá. They are also found among the Mataco[4]).

The use of *tassels* (Fig. 36) on cords of various kinds is clearly a custom that came to the Chaco from the culture zone in the west. Within the area of my investigations I

Fig. 36. Hair-band with tassels. Ashluslay. R. M. (A. 5). 1/3.

Fig. 37. Hair-band with tassels. Quichua mestizos. Callegua. N. Argentina. R. M. (n. 12). 1/3.

found these tassels among the Choroti, Ashluslay, Mataco, Toba, Chiriguano, Chané, Aymara and Quichua (Fig. 37) but among no tribe on the plain north of Sta. Cruz de la Sierra. Tassels are common on the textile fabrics found on the Peruvian coast[5]).

[1]) G. M (P. 1.)
[2]) HAWTHEN, p. 282.
[3]) p. 929.
[4]) R. M. (04.4.112), R. M. (04.4.113).
[5]) See, e. g. REISS and STÜBEL, Vol. 3. Pl. 75, fig. 1, 3, 9.

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The tassels of the Ashluslay, here depicted, are similar to those used on their head-bands by the Quichua mestizos in the Calilegua Mountains of N. Argentina (Fig. 37).

The Choroti sometimes wear an ornament on the forehead[1]) in the form of a *thread-cross* (Fig. 38, Map 22).

The distribution of the thread-cross throughout the world has been studied by Foy. From S. America he gives: (55) Arawaks (Guayana), (13) Karajá (15) Kayapó, (14) Bororó, (75) Angaité, (1) Choroti, (6), Mataco-Vejos, (A) Peruvian coast and (T) Antióquia in Columbia.

It is notable that the thread-cross commonly occurs on the Peruvian coast together with the so-called mummy packets. It probably had a religious significance there.

I will return later on to the question of the origin in the Chaco of the thread-cross.

Fig. 38. Thread-cross, frontlet. Choroti, G. M. (D. 143). 1/4.

The young men of the Choroti and Ashluslay use *plumes*, of course. Feathers are sometimes sewn to the frontlet. Ostrich feathers, with cuttings in them, are often sewn into the frontlet. SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR[2]) speaks of them among the Mbayá. Round the instep and the upper arm the young men often wear plumes.

Plumes round the feet are very characteristic of the Indians in the Gran Chaco. Among others, HAWTREY[3]) mentions them from the Lengua, and DUCCI[4]) from the Toba.

The Ashluslay and the Choroti often wear a »brush» of hair or feathers stuck

[1]) The thread-cross was possibly not only an adornment among the Choroti, but also an amulet. However, as I heard nothing from the Indians to that effect, and as they have no compunction in selling thread-crosses, I look upon the thread-cross for the present as an ornament.

[2]) Vol. 1. p. 214.

[3]) p. 283.

[4]) p. 10.

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in the frontlet. Similar adornments are customary among the Lengua[1]). I have not seen this species of adornment outside the Chaco.

The plumes seen in the Chaco differ considerably from those seen among the Indian tribes in N.E. Bolivia. Here we almost entirely miss the use of parrots feathers, and yet there are very gay-coloured little parrots in the Chaco. Ostrich feathers are chiefly used. As basket-weaving is unknown, the feathers are never mounted, as so often in Brazil, on woven basket-frames. But, on the other hand, it is customary, as we have observed, to fasten the feathers onto some material, a custom I never observed among the Indians of N.E. Bolivia.

The custom of fastening feathers onto material, appears to me to have originated in the mountain culture.

A common material for making ornaments in the Chaco, is hide and leather. In my collections from the Choroti and the Ashluslay, there are foot-ligaments, wristlets and armlets of leather, and caps and frontlets of hide, particularly jaguar skin. The leather armlets, as also often other adornments, such as the ear-blocks, are covered with pieces of tinplate.

Sánchez Labrador[2]) is of the opinion that this custom derives from Peru. The assertion is of interest, as this is the first time, as far as I know, that anyone has adduced ethnographical proofs of Inca influence in the Chaco.

Few adornments are worn by the women in the Chaco. The Ashluslay women have armlets of strips of deer-skin. Ducci[3]) speaks of these from the Toba, and, according to him, they are worn as amulets against lightning. I have not seen them elsewhere. The women occasionally wear necklaces of seed-grains.

Both men and women wear *rings*, which consist of seg-

[1]) Hawtrey, p. 282.
[2]) Vol. 2. p. 280.
[3]) p. 10.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
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XX.

Toilet articles.

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The Indians here dealt with are acquainted with the use of comb and brush. The use of the comb in S. America is very widespread; that of the hairbrush is much less so.

A C [237]

Fig. 39. Hairbrush. Ashluslay, G. M. (A 701) 1/2.

I have in my collection *hairbrushes* (Fig. 39. Map 23) from the (6) Mataco, (1) Choroti, (2) Ashluslay and (3) Tapiete. They are, moreover, known among the (10) Araucanians[1]), (26) Patagonians[2]), (66) Peguenche[3]) and (X 5) Yahgan[4]).

LEHMANN-NITSCHE[5]) gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the (D) Puna de Jujuy which probably depicts a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Choroti, Ashluslay and Mataco are made of ant-bear hair. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made sometimes of hair, sometimes of roots. Otherwise they are made of twigs or roots.

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[1]) UHLE (6). p. 13.

[2]) OUTES and BRUCH (5). p. 122, fig. 118.

[3]) LUIS DE LA CRUZ, p. 35: «Y advierto que sus peines es un manojo de boquis ó raicesillas delgadas de que nosotros usamos para barrer las casas.»

[4]) OUTES and BRUCH (5). p. 138, fig. 140.

[5]) (1), Pl. 4, F. 6.

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It is an interesting fact that UHLE[1]) has found these hair-brushes in the very old excavations at (B) Arica. He has also discovered them in the oldest excavations at (h) Pisagua, while in the younger strata there, which he assigns to the time of the Tiahuanaco, he found combs. The hair-brush is evidently a very old mark of civilization in S. America, now spread more especially in the south.

LUIS DE LA CRUZ[2]) says that the Peguenche have no knowledge of combs. Nor have the Tehuelche any combs. On the other hand, among the above-mentioned tribes of the Chaco, the comb is used along with the hair-brush. The rest of the Indian tribes visited by me, with the exception of the Cháma, the Tambopata-Guarayo and the Huari, all had combs. PATER SCHMIDT[3]) has endeavoured to determine the area over which various types of comb are spread. He only concerns himself with what he calls «stick-combs», i. e., combs made of a number of sticks bound together. In the Chaco there is yet another kind of comb, consisting of a flat piece of wood out of which the teeth of the comb are carved. Various forms of these «stick-combs» are found spread over the larger part of S. America. I take the liberty of making this reference to PATER SCHMIDT's classification, though I do not understand his division into various types. I will only point out here that the «stick-combs» used by the Choroti and the Ashluslay in their shape and manner of splicing, (Fig. 41) are, as a rule, identical with those found by LEHMANN-NITSCHE[4]) in the Puna de

[1]) «*El peine* por ejemplo, tiene la forma de escoba que es la primitiva americana, y que ahora está sólo en uso entre los Patagones, Araucanos y en una parte de Méjico, según sabemos. Con la misma forma aparece en las sepulturas más antiguas de Pisagua. En el período de Tiahuanáco, aparecen primero los peines con dientes, tanto en Pisagua como en todo el Perú, teniendo los peines conocidos de las tribus transandinas del Este y Norte la misma forma.» UHLE (6) p. 13.

[2]) p. 35.

[3]) p. 1084.

[4]) (1). Pl. 4, fig. F. 7 and fig. G. 3.

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Jujuy, by BOMAN[1]) in Calama in Atacama, and by myself[2]) in the Ollachea a valley in Peru. On account of the great similarity between the combs found at the archaeological excavations within the civilized area of the west and the combs of the Choroti and the Ashluslay, it seems clear to me that this type of comb in the Chaco is derived from western civilization. Whence the Indians of the Chaco originally received the comb is, however, unknown to me. From PATER SCHMIDT's classification we see that the

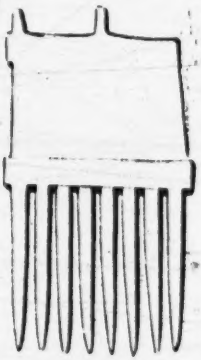


Fig. 40 A.
Wooden comb. Choroti.
G. M. (D. 24) $^1/_2$

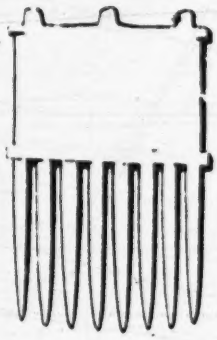


Fig. 40 B.
Wooden comb. Chiriguano. R. M. (E. 451) $^1/_2$

comb is lacking among most of the Gés-tribes. It occurs within the old area of civilization on the Andes and everywhere among the Caribs, Guarani and Arawak tribes.

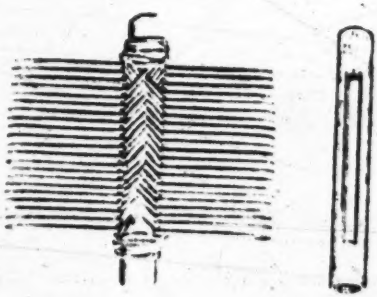
The wooden comb which, in contradistinction to the stick-comb, we may call the plain comb, has a rather limited area of occurrence. I have such combs in my collection from the Choroti, (Fig. 40 A) Chiriguano (Fig. 40 B), Chané, Mataco and Tapiete. DEBENEDETTI depicts such a comb[3]) found in an excavation at Humahuaca in the

[1]) Fig. 171 f.
[2]) (3) Pl. 3. fig. 4 and 9.
[3]) (2). fig. 180.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

A C 302

northernmost part of Argentina and another from Kipón[1]). Uhle shows a wooden comb of the European type from Cajamarca in Peru[2]). Among the Ashluslay I have not seen this type of comb. The combs found among the Choroti are exactly like those of the Chiriguano, wherefore it is probable that they received this type of comb in the first instance from those Indians. In origin it is probably derived from western civilization.



a b

Fig. 41 a. Stick-comb. Ashluslay. R. M. (A. 6012) 1/2. b. Back.

The stamps (Fig. 42) which the Indians employ in painting themselves also belong to the toilet articles of the Chaco country. These are sticks or flat pieces of wood with notched or lined carvings.

The ornamentation of these stamps is smeared with paint, whereupon the stamp is pressed against the skin. My collections contain stamps of this kind from the (1) Choroti and (2) Ashluslay for painting the face, and from the (22) Yuracáre for painting the face and clothes. Outside the Chaco stamps appear to be most spread in the north-west of S. America. In some districts they are made of burnt clay. We find them among the Indians of N. W. Brazil (48)[3]), among the (12)

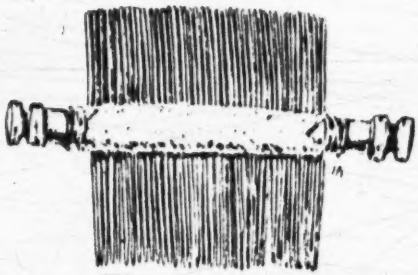


Fig. 41 b Stick comb. Ashluslay. R. M. (A. 6010) 1/2.

[1]) (1), fig. 10.
[2]) (1), Vol. 2, Pl. 17, fig. 8.
[3]) Koch-Grünberg, Vol. 1, p. 176 and p. 240.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

Fig. 42. Stamps used for the painting of the face. Ashluslay, R. M. (A. 1074, 1078) 1/2.

Mbayá [1]), (34), Jivaro [2]), (74) the Indians of the Orinoco [3]), (X 3) Piaroa [4]), (54) Guahibo [5]) (13) Karajá [6]), (15), Kayapó [7]), (8) Lengua [8]), (V5) Yekuaná [9]), (46) Conibo [10]) (71) Sipibo [10]), and (2 D) Setebo [10]).

During archaelogical excavations in Columbia they have been found at Ubaté, Cundinamarca, Fresno, Tolima, (W) Guasca, Cundinamarca, (T) Manizales, Antióquia, Pereira near Cartago Viejo and Cauca [11]). All these are of burnt clay.

SAVILLE [12]) found numerous stamps of burnt clay at (I) Manabi on the coast of Ecuador. They are also known from the island af Trinidad [13]).

From the vicinity of the old area of civilization in the west adjacent to the Chaco country, I know none of these stamps. At present I must leave the question open whence the Indians of the Chaco have received these elements of civilization.

[1]) SANCHEZ LABRADOR, Vol. 1, p. 285. «El modo con que forman dichas figuras tiene algo de ingenio. De piel hacen los moldes sacándole los cortes y rayos que ha de llenar el color blanco, materia de la estrella. Cuando quieren parecer estrellados, arriman los moldes al cuerpo, ya pintado de encarnado ó negro»; COLINI (1), p. 309.

[2]) RIVET (1), p. 28.

[3]) GILIJ, Bd. 2, p. 58.

[4]) MARCANO, Pl. 30.

[5]) R. M. (H. M. K. II. 12)

[6]) KRAUSE, p. 218.

[7]) » p. 380.

[8]) M. f. V. B. (V. C. 520).

[9]) M. f. V. B. (V. A. 6101).

[10]) COLINI (2), p. 533.

[11]) UHLE (1), Vol. 1, Pl. 3, Fig. 14-25. See also FABREGA p. 318.

[12]) Vol. I, p. 76; Vol. 2, p. 198.

[13]) FEWKES p. (not marked on the map.)

Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Güisnais

Ci 301 302 171 /321 cont./

Doubtless through being very close to the Toba, they pierce their ear lobes, in which they put pieces of wood, and they also stain their faces.

Ci 648 [464] In the expeditions to the Paraguay they have never shown themselves to be hostile to the whites and soldiers; rather they have lent important services and it was they who saved the life of Señor Touvar and his companions when they became separated from the expedition. Therefore the reduction of these Indians to civilized life would be very profitable.

Güisnáis

M 131 101 These Indians occupy the western bank of the Pilcomayo facing the Choroti Indians and southwest of the region occupied by the Mataco. The geographic degree of their territory, with a very slight difference, is the same as that of the Choroti, since they are separated from the latter only by the river bed.

M 101 181 241 231 197 They are a division of the Mataco; they speak the latter's language with very little difference; their customs are nearly identical and their number quite small. They are of a peaceful nature like the Choroti, and like them, they plant gourds and other vegetables. They also devote themselves to the raising of domestic animals, such as cows, horses, sheep, goats, and chickens.

M 167 177 464 224 Even the Güisnáis frequently come out for jobs in the Argentine Republic, from where they also bring back weapons, in order to use them particularly in the woods, killing birds, wild boars, deer, and other quadrupeds.

M 174 771 776 [756] They have more religious ideas than other tribes, and it seems that their great-grandparents might have belonged to some former Argentine mission, because, more than others, they recognize a true divinity. /322/ Nonetheless in their great ignorance they confuse ideas, and in great fear they recognize in sorcerers a power that they do not have.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK 6

In subtropical land like the Chaco, where the weather is often very hot especially during the »summer-time», dress is naturally of the most simple kind. Both among the Mataco, the Choroti, and the Tobas, the most important article of the man's clothing is a small cotton waist-cloth which serves as a covering and protection for the genitals. In addition to this waist-cloth the Mataco and the Choroti formerly wore a kind of broad fringed leather-belt round the loins, whereas the Tobas covered the genitals with a small apron of skin or stuff. The rest of the body is among all the tribes generally kept entirely naked or is only covered by the usual necklaces and other ornaments, or by red *urucú*-painting. When the weather is cold, and on festival occasions, the men also wear big woollen blankets with interwoven linear patterns mostly in red colour. The blankets of the Lenguas and other tribes in eastern Chaco often show designs denoting venomous snakes etc., but such patterns are unknown to the Choroti, and where they are found they have originally been obtained from the interior of the country. Weaving is among all Chaco tribes exclusively a work incumbent on the women.

The Choroti man adjusts his blanket in different ways. In cold or wet weather it is wrapped round the body so as to cover one or both shoulders; when it is hot, he allows it to fall in a double fold from his waist, where it is either fastened by a belt or by tucking the folds of one corner into the other.

The usual clothing of the women is a short cotton petticoat reaching from the waist to a little below the knees, the upper part of the body remaining unclothed. This petticoat formerly consisted of deer or nutria skins sewn together, but since the present-day Choroti are poor hunters such skin loin-clothes are now rarely seen. According to Mr. Hunt, young Choroti girls have nowadays adopted the female dress of the Chiriguano (Avas), a kind of sleeveless, waistless gown caught at the shoulders with a couple of safety pins and known under the name of *tipoy*. At the time when I travelled in the Chaco these *tipoys* were only known to the women among the Bolivian Tobas, but not to the Choroti women, who always kept the upper part of their body uncovered and, in opposition to the Toba women, never showed any shame at displaying their bare breasts. A few necklaces, beads, or twisted feathers replace clothing on these nude parts of the body. Many of the personal ornaments of both men and women have the character of amulets or charms and will therefore be dealt with later on in connection with the religion of the natives.

Much the same may be said of the dress of the Mataco and the Tobas. Both of these tribes, and especially the Mataco, have been influenced

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

their rattle gourds, whilst the men provided with drums beat them. The girl in whose honour the dance was held was standing motionless and silent at the entrance of the hut reclining against the wall and had to remain so during the whole ceremony. Sometimes, when towards evening she got tired and was on the point of falling asleep, one of the medicine-men came up to her and shook his rattle close to her face as if to keep her awake. The ceremony began in the afternoon and was continued with short pauses throughout the whole evening until midnight. I was informed that as long as the dance goes on the girl need not be veiled, but as soon as the conjuration is finished for the night she must have her face and her whole body well covered. During the whole period that the dance is performed she is moreover obliged to fast, avoiding fish and meat and living only on some light vegetable food.

I may add that all the men who took part in the ceremony were painted on the face in one way or another. Some of them simply had the face coated red with roucou or black with charcoal, whereas others had X-shaped or other patterns painted on the cheeks. The men's faces are always painted in this way at the conjurations of the Indians, and these paintings have a purely magical significance.

The drinking of algaroba beer also forms part of the magical practices at the feast, but it is strictly limited to the men.

The object of all these ceremonies is to protect the girl against the evil spirits, the *möhsek*, by which she is believed to be particularly attacked during her unclean condition. The spirits try to enter into her through the face — especially through those parts where there is a natural opening of the body, such as the eyes, the ears, the nose, and the mouth — and also through the ventral parts, the consequence being, if they succeed in doing so, that she will fall ill and die, or become supernaturally pregnant and give birth to a monster. It is in this way that the Indians account for the birth of those deformed children which they kill directly after birth. To prevent such frightful accidents the girl's head and body are covered after the conjuration is finished for the night. By means of the dancing, chanting, drumming, etc. the evil demons who take an interest in the girl and swarm about her are conjured and rendered harmless. According to the idea of the Indians she is not only protected for the time being against their attacks, but she will also retain a certain power of resistance against them in the future.

The puberty of a girl is not celebrated in all cases among the Choroti with so many ceremonies as in the case just described, but the

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Matacc
Toba S/12
Choroti SK6

odd appearance which the charcoal gives the face acts as a deterrent; but probably some mysterious magical properties are also ascribed to the soot or charcoal itself. Black is held to be a more powerful means of inspiring evil demons with fear than other colours: hence it has especially become the »colour of sorrow»: for the spirits of the recently departed, or the demons who cause disease and death, are, after all, the most dreaded of all supernatural beings.

Even ornamental painting may be applied after a death. Thus an old woman had painted a small arrow in brown colour on each cheek in the evening of the day a brother of hers had died. The true significance of this face-painting may be inferred from the fact that in the same evening all the inhabitants of the village carried arrows or sticks in their hands when they moved about outside their huts, and that the nearest relatives of the dead, who had abandoned the house of death, had made themselves a whole fence of arrows stuck in the ground, inside which they spent the night. The object of these precautions was professedly to keep off the death-demon, and the same was certainly the object of the ornamental arrows painted on the woman's cheeks. The Indians in fact believe that they can intimidate their supernatural foes in the same way as their natural enemies.

Lastly, the Tobas, like other South American Indians, are in the habit of painting the body before they march out to battle. This kind of body-painting has already been described in connection with Indian warfare.

The facial paintings of the *Choroti* show a greater variety of design than those of the Tobas. These ornamental designs are applied for feasts and dances, and since the latter in many cases have apparently a profane character, it may seem to a superficial observer as if the body-painting of the Choroti had for its object only to embellish the appearance. Such a conclusion however would be a mistake, since the Choroti dances, as we have seen, are in really in their nature a sort of magical conjuration. Similarly, the feasts held in the honour of young girls at puberty have a purely religious significance. At a feast of this kind where I was present most of the men who took part in the ceremonies had painted on their faces ornamental designs in red and black colours. Many of them had painted on each cheek an X-shaped design which is frequently met with in the ornamental art of the South American Indians and which is evidently nothing but an impressionistic drawing of the human body, representing for instance the breast and the stomach, of

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913) 1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

C
302 the body of some animal. The magical nature of these ornaments was
881 likewise obvious.

M
302 Among the *Mataco*, who in general are more addicted to religion and superstition than the Choroti, the character of facial painting as a magical charm is more conspicuous. These Indians give facial painting
789 different names according as it is used by men or women and depending on its colour. Thus the red painting of women is called *eruháh*, whereas
M the red painting of the men is called *oväittáh* (a name evidently derived
765 from the word *aittáh* demon). The black painting is called *letáh*. It is especially used as a sign of sorrow. When a Mataco man dies, his widow and daughters blacken their faces with charcoal, regarding this as a protection against the death-demon. Similarly, for some time after a death the younger men every evening perform the dance *Katináh*, and
M all those taking part in the dance have their faces blackened. — The
751 red painting again is applied as a means of giving the body strength and as a direct protection against evil spirits causing sickness.

M
301 Many *personal ornaments* of the Chaco Indians, for instance ear-tubes, necklaces, feather ornaments etc., are of the nature of charms or amulets against evil spirits. The feather ornaments most customary
789 among the Chaco tribes are ostrich plumes, and these, as I have shown in my *Civilization of the South American Indians* have originally not been decorations in the civilized sense of the word, but magical charms, a character which they still preserve for instance among such tribes as the Chamacoco and Lenguas in Paraguay. Among the Choroti, who likewise at their great feasts in December and January wear great ostrich plumes as ornaments, this is not equally conspicuous in accordance with the fact that in many cases the Choroti culture shows traces of an incipient degeneration. On the other hand, in the description I have
M given before of a Mataco dance performed to conjure disease demons
756 and in which the sorcerers had ostrich feathers fastened to the ankles, wrists, head, and waist,[1]) the »mystic» significance of these »ornaments» is quite obvious. Similarly, when another writer states that the Mataco in some parts of the Argentine Chaco not only use ostrich plumes as head-ornaments, but also apply them to the face as a sort of beard, which gives them a grotesque and ferocious appearance, or wear them round the wrists in the way of bracelets,[2]) one cannot fail to recognize superstitious motives behind these arrangements.

[1]) See *supra*, p. 137.

[2]) Baldrich, *Las comarcas vírgenes*, p. 231.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

The *ear-tubes* which are worn as ornaments for instance by the Choroti. Ashluslay and Toba-Pilagá and which consist of wooden plugs or pieces of cane, sometimes of tremendous size, are likewise nothing but magical charms or amulets. This was clearly indicated by the Choroti, who told me that the ear-discs are worn to prevent the evil spirits, the *möhsek*, from penetrating into the ears. Their hugeness and peculiarity is evidently thought to act as a deterrent upon the spirits, and there seems to be the idea that the larger they are the more efficacious.

The Indians of the Pilcomayo use various kinds of *necklaces*, and it seems to be the rule that among the most primitive tribes, such as the Choroti and Ashluslay, they are more worn by men than by women, among the more civilized Tobas again more by women than by men. Speaking of the dress of the Choroti, I mentioned the large and costly kind of necklace consisting of snail's shells elaborately fashioned into small round buttons with a hole drilled in the centre and closely strung together. The necklace, called *lähslehuésle* in the Choroti language, is not only an ornament but at the same time a magical charm. The Choroti no doubt gave me the true explanation of their original significance when they told me that the necklace is a protection against sickness. The evil spirits, according to the idea of these Indians, preferably attach themselves to the throat or the chest, because catarrhs are very common in the Chaco during the dry season. The spirits are believed to enter into the body through the throat or the breast, but this is prevented by the protecting necklace. Hence, when a Choroti Indian sells his necklace or leaves off wearing it, his comrades say that he will most certainly soon fall ill. The same idea I found prevailing among the Mataco-Noctenes of Bolivia, where such ornaments are worn by both sexes. Thus the son of a chief, who was just at the age of puberty, one day appeared painted red in the face with *urucú*, and with a large necklace which covered the neck and the breast. When I asked the father why his son had put on these things, he answered: »It is in order that he may not fall ill». Both among the Mataco and the Choroti it is customary that children of both sexes go totally naked up to the age of eight to ten years, but nearly always they wear collars and facial paintings which most certainly are not »ornaments» in the civilized sense of the word.

Among the South American Indians in general it is a common custom to tie round a limb, for instance the wrist or the leg, a leather strap or some other kind of band, professedly with a view to making the arm or the leg strong. The Chaco Indians also commonly wear such ligatures

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

C 765 forming a falling scale in a minor key, which makes a very peculiar impression. At the time of mourning the women and children commence this wailing at fairly regular intervals and all at once, as if it were agreed upon. To one who lives for some time in a Choroti village it is evident C 765 that wailing forms part of Indian etiquette. Not only must the mourners, when they arrive from another village, which has been abandoned on 576 account of a death, be received by a choir of weeping women and children; any guest who arrives in a village shortly after a death has taken place there is received in the same way. When in March 1912 I visited the Choroti in the interior of their land, where no European had yet penetrated, I noticed with astonishment that on my arrival at a village I was received with loud wailing by the women and children. I soon learnt that a great chief had died some time ago; but the fact that the wailing was renewed to receive me remained unexplained. I was told, however, that this peculiar way of receiving strangers was prescribed by Choroti custom. The most probable explanation seems to me that it is feared lest the spirit of the defunct should revisit his people in a strange disguise, and that the wailing has for its object to propitiate him or to frighten him away. Such ideas prevail among other South American tribes also, both in the Chaco and elsewhere.

M ●C T 765 ● 302 562 There are certain other customs observed in connection with mourning, but they are as a rule limited to the women. Among all Pilcomayo tribes it is customary that when a man dies, his widow, daughters, and sisters cut their hair short with the sharp teeth of the *palometa* fish and burn it. Ceremonial wailing always attends the cutting of the hair. When I asked the Choroti why a widow cuts and destroys her hair after the death of her husband, I was told that the dead husband, who wants his wife to follow him to the grave, is believed to attack her through the hair. In order to rid herself of this danger she shaves it off. Exactly T 765 the same belief prevails among the Tobas: the dead husband or father will seize his surviving wife or daughter by the hair and cause her to fall ill and die. Among the Tobas a widow cuts her hair twice, first immediately after the husband's death, the second time some months later T [602] when the hair has again grown long. At the same time she repeats the wailing. Similarly the nearest female relatives have to diet, in so far as they are not allowed to eat fish for many months. If they infringe the rules of diet in regard to fish they may sicken and die. After a Toba woman has cut her hair the second time she may again eat fish, her mourning is over and she is allowed to marry again. Even some of the